621 /15 cont./ Kampong Bontoramba has approximately
[161] 800 residents. There one finds one of the two public schools
[368] which the entire adat community of more than 14,000 individuals boasts. Along the large road a bicycle repair shop has arisen, and there are more coffee warong /shops/ than in many other places. A large group of Buginese, attracted by a
166 great deal of fallow land and good transportation facilities, has built its houses there in the course of the last 20 years. The Makassarese who live there at present arrived no more than 60 years ago. Coming and going never takes place en masse in Makassarese country. In successive stages a pioneer receives more members of his kin group in his house; by successive stages other people move away.

[554 A certain period of settlement by a large group is /16/
565] noted mostly when a man of high nobility moves and many follow him. Formerly, in periods of insecurity for the individual, this was probably a more usual manner of migration, but today it no longer is. Thus, around 1900, a large number of kinsmen coming from kampong Pakatto, situated eight kilometers further up the road, settled in Bontoramba. As kinsmen
[621] /familiele den/ constituting a part of the same related group /ver wantengroep/ they organized themselves anew in Bontoramba and adjusted to the new circumstances, at the same time striving for the realization of the usual Makassarese ideals. To this end, they followed the old Makassarese adat.

The Bilateral Related Group

612 The Makassarese related group /ver wantengroep/ should
621 be described as a bilateral endogamous group of relatives (1)

1. Kin relationship is indicated by the term sibidja or sipamanakkang.

whose members worship their ancestors (pattautoaang) at the places and times designated, and at the same time as a group

612/621 /16 cont./ living together in the same territory (pa'rasangang), whose members till the soil. Two pairs of opposing tendencies are observable here. In contrast to a striving toward endogamy, a much weaker striving to enter into marriage with non-kinsmen can be observed. In contrast to a striving to live together in the same territory, there exists an urge to disperse.

631 The Makassarese-Buginese section of the daërah /district/ of South Celebes is at present divided into provinces. Each /landsdrap/ consists of a number of territorial units, frequently called adat communities /adatgemeenschappen/. Each adat community in turn consists of a number of territorial units frequently called kampongs. The boundaries between provinces, between adat communities, and between kampongs are fixed on maps. This is a situation which anyone can immediately notice.

114/602 In addition it repeatedly appears in the literature that the writers are conscious of the fact that kin relationship plays a very important role among the Makassarese. The foreigner observes that a Makassarese not only lives with kinsmen in one house, but also that he has kinsmen scattered throughout the country./17/ But no statements can be found in the literature with regard to the precise nature of kin relationship and its relation to the clearly discernible territorial division, and there exist only vague notions among foreigners who have become thoroughly acquainted with South Celebes, as well as among the Makassarese themselves.

124 Therefore, in carrying out this investigation, it was not possible to isolate a certain group of relatives as an object of observation; the boundary lines were always vague. The only form of grouping which was clearly outlined and which could therefore better serve as a starting point was the territorial one (1).

114 /17 cont./ 1. It is therefore not surprising that in the summary chapter on social organization in his book Beginselen en Stelsel van het Adatrecht /Principles and System of Adat Law/ Ter Haar assigns "the village and district communities of South Celebes" to the "communities in which the genealogical factor... has no significance" (p. 15). Using the available literature, his conclusion could not be different. Here it will become apparent how incorrect this interpretation is.

124 Hence kin relationships of the residents of a kampong territory were recorded. For this purpose the names of all kampong residents were taken down from house to house, and at the same time kinship connections of the occupants were collected for each house. The kinship connections between the occupants of various houses were then traced. In so doing it appeared simplest to ask everyone whether he was related to [592] the Kapala or his wife, and if so, in what degree. The fact that, aside from a few exceptions, members of a household always turned out to be kinsmen facilitated the investigation because it was possible to indicate precisely which houses belonged to the Kapala's group of relatives and which did not.

124 Everyone was counted of the Kapala's group of relatives ● 612 who believed himself to be related to him or his wife and of whom this was not denied. The latter happened once. It concerned a kampong functionary who had few kinsmen in Bontoramba but who had obtained influence through his personal qualities (his organizational ability, his eloquence) and

124 /17 cont./ who now wished to improve his position by being
612 regarded as a distant kinsman of the Kapala. It was the
[608] daughter of the Kapala himself who made it clear to him that his opinion could not possibly be correct. /18/ Furthermore,
[609] the strangers, that is to say, the non-kinsmen married to a member of the Kapala group, whose children thus also belonged to this group, were likewise counted among the Kapala related group.

In the sole instance in which -- while the married couple
124 were not related to each other -- individual kinsmen of the
612 man, as well as of the woman (who belonged to the Kapala
592 group), lived in their house, the man's kinsmen were not included in the Kapala group; he himself was.

Aside from traceable relatives, a number of relatives by
124 marriage were therefore also counted among the related group.
612 The latter should accordingly be defined more accurately as a traditional bilateral endogamous group of relatives.

Among the Buginese, none of whom were related to the Kapala, a prominent man called Mangenre was used for the same purpose as the Kapala in the first group, so that with respect to the occupants of a number of houses, it can be said that they belong to Mangenre's group of relatives. With regard to the occupants of the remaining houses, the mutual kinship
[128] relationship, insofar as it existed, could then be easily established. For the sake of convenience, the first group will be called the Kapala group, the second the Mangenre group, and the last the Rest group.

The result of this investigation showed that of a total of 129
621 houses, the Kapala group occupied 81, the Mangenre group 18, and that the Rest group lived in the remaining 30 houses.
[612] The latter's members belonged to 13 different groups of relatives. The members of one group of the Rest group lived distributed over nine houses; those a second group over five houses, and those of a third over three houses. In three cases persons related to each other occupied two houses, and in the

621 /18 cont./ remaining seven houses lived persons who, aside from their housemates, had no other kin in Bontoramba.

[602] All these people, however, from the members of the Kapala group to those of the occupants of the seven last-named houses, have kinsmen living outside Bontoramba -- sometimes also outside Borongloë, and sometimes even partly outside Coa. These outside kinsmen sometimes live in small groups of just a few houses, and sometimes in larger numbers. Summarizing the genealogical picture of the kampong territory 612 /19/ of Bontoramba, it is possible to state that 15 (1) larger 621

1. 1 group of 81 houses.
   1 group of 18 houses.
   1 group of 9 houses.
   1 group of 5 houses.
   1 group of 3 houses.
   3 groups of 2 houses.
   7 groups of 1 house. A total, therefore, of 15 different groups of relatives over a total of 129 houses. This count took place between June 25 and July 1, 1948.

and smaller segments of groups of relatives live together there. All individuals at the same time possess elsewhere, that is to say, outside of Bontoramba, one or more other, larger or smaller, segments of their groups of relatives. Furthermore, it appears that the Kapala group is strongly integrated, the Mangenre group weakly integrated, and that the Rest group cannot be called integrated at all."

This result displays a divergence from the definition of the related group given above in two respects. In the definition, as we have seen, the emphasis was placed upon the existence of a certain unity on the part of a genealogical group and its territory. First of all, one encounters several genealogical

612 621 19 cont. groups in one territory, and, secondly, it appears that a genealogical group lives scattered over several territories. Both deviations from the initially advanced principle demand closer elaboration.

166 178 621 In the first place, certain historical factors which contributed to the development of this situation should be pointed out. These are increase in population, greater security since the year 1905, and irrigation by which sawah cultivation became possible in districts hitherto unsuited for this, with the result that migration of small groups took place with much greater frequency than was previously necessary or possible. To an increasing degree, strangers requested permission to settle in a certain kampong territory (2).

2. Such, at least, is the official decree; in practice permission is not asked until the house has already been built and the sawah has already been broken.

621 In the second place, the difference in meaning of the term "kampong territory" at the present time and half a century ago should be pointed out. At that time the boundary of a territory coincided with the boundary of the power exercised by the related group residing in that region. The boundary changed in proportion to the power exercised by this group segment. This applied in the first place to /20/ the boundaries of the present-day kampongs. It also applied to a lesser degree to the boundaries of the present-day adat communities and provinces. After the arrival of the Dutch East Indies Government in the region of the principalities in 1905, maps were made in the course of the first few decades, and the boundaries were indicated on them. The situation at that time was essentially fixed. Within the established boundaries, displacements of power subsequently took place. Territorial and power boundaries, therefore, no longer coincided at that time.

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612 621 622 691 /20 cont./ A kampong head was appointed to rule over a kampong territory. This head thereby also obtained authority over the members of other groups of relatives which gradually came to live in that territory. Formerly, it is probably true to say, such a new group would have built up a small power center of its own there and would have displaced the existing one. Today such a group must actualize such a striving for power within fixed territorial administrative boundaries. This occurs frequently through a struggle for the headship of the region concerned, whether it is a kampong, an adat community, or a kingdom. The idea remained that a genealogical group should be in command of the territory inhabited by this group, and thus also of all those who lived in it. The striving for this can be observed repeatedly.

612 621 This striving is always directed primarily against the other group living in the territory which approaches the first-mentioned most closely in standing, in this case, therefore, the Mangenre group. But in view of the fact that this group is small and little integrated, the members of the Kapala group do not feel themselves threatened, and accordingly little is perceptible of their striving.

The same picture that was here given with regard to Bontoramba can also be observed in the majority of the other kampongs.. A sample made in 1940 in kampong Pakatta indicated that there two groups of relatives of almost equal size resided in the kampong territory with a few separate households (a very small Rest group, therefore).

[634] The only related group in the adat community which occupied an entire kampong territory practically by itself was that of the adat community head. Members of this group live distributed over two to three kampong territories. As the headman's group of relatives, however, they stand in contrast to all other Borongloë groups of relatives in the adat community territory. A few households of slaves (1) and a few separate [567]

1. See below pp. 149 ff.

[567]

612 /20 cont./ households are the only non-kinsmen who live in
621 their kampong territory. /21/ In each case, therefore, one encounters two more or less strongly integrated groups of relatives per territory, with, in addition, a nonintegrated Rest group regarded as small and insignificant.

612 Furthermore, it appeared that members of one and the same related group lived scattered all over South Celebes. In this respect, too, there is therefore no question of unity between a related group and its territory. The reason for this is evident. For this it is first necessary to show how a related group should be conceived.

The territorial division taken as a starting point in the investigation described above has the advantage of making a sharp demarcation possible, namely a division between houses inside and outside the kampong border. The related group as a genealogical unit lacks these sharply defined boundaries. An individual frequently belongs to more than one group of relatives, and people who are closely related to each other, first cousins, for instance, thus often belong not only to a common kin group, but also to mutually distinct ones. This is a direct consequence of the fact that marriages are regularly contracted between people who are not of the same kin group.

582 A child resulting from such a marriage may contract an
611 endogamous marriage either in his father's group of relatives
612 or in that of his mother, because through his father he belongs to the latter's related group, and through his mother to hers. And where father and mother in their turn were born to a man and wife who were not related to each other, the same child can contract an endogamous marriage in any one of the four different groups of relatives of the four grandparents. After all, he belongs to four different groups of relatives.

612 It is clear that a division of the Makassarese into sharply distinguished groups of relatives is fully imaginary. Each individual belongs to more than one group of relatives and would therefore also have to be apportioned to more than one such

612 /21 cont./ group. An individual has the choice, in such a case, as to which group of relatives he wants to join, and where he wants to live and work. The genealogical /22/ tie with the other group(s) remains in existence. Knowledge of this tends to disappear after one or a few generations.

574 602 It should not be expected that one would know all one's kinsmen who live in regions remote from each other. By paying visits and extended stays, the younger generation becomes acquainted with kinsmen residing in various districts. The older ones observe them through this; their character is gauged and their marriage opportunities are discussed. It depends upon the impression made by them whether they will be more or less welcome guests at a later visit.

602 It depends upon an individual himself whether in later years he will keep up the ties established in this way. Thus, while one Makassarese, questioned about kinsmen living elsewhere, is able to refer to merely one or two districts where these are supposed to live, another one, conscious of the fact that the possession of many connections increases his social standing, declares that he has kinsmen everywhere and seems to be able to cite many names of kampongs.

Endogamy

582 612 The statement that the related group is endogamous means that a great number of marriages are by preference contracted with a kinsman, and a small number with members of other groups of relatives. The figures given below are taken from a Kapala related group, that is to say, from a segment of this group living, and therefore registered, in Bontoramba.

Of the 89 married couples belonging to the segment of the Kapala group residing in Bontoramba, man and wife are related to each other in 79 cases, and in 10 they are not (1).

1. I am following the system of degree of relationship according

582
612 /22 cont./ to which the parent-child relationship counts as one degree; brothers are therefore related in the second degree, and cousins /neven, French cousin/ in the fourth degree, and so on.

582 If one pursues the reasons why these 10 married outside
583 their related group, it appears that in 5 cases the marriage occurred after the couple had carried out silariang (2). In

2. A marriage by flight. For details of this, see Chapter III, third part.

this case the individuals concerned do not pay any attention
557 to the existence of kin group ties. In the 5 other cases, the
582 reason always given was that the strangers belonged to groups of relatives with which /23/ the older generation who brought about the marriages gladly entered into marriage ties in view of their social standing.

In 2 of these 5 cases, a female member of the related group married a stranger. In the other 3 cases, a man married a girl from outside. In the chapter on status we shall return to the marriage policy carried out by the older people. At present it is only necessary to point out that no special preference to marry either a boy or a girl outside the related group can be indicated, but rather that closer attention is paid with a girl than with a boy that she does not marry someone who is regarded to be even a trifle below her in standing.

582 The statement that the related group is endogamous signifies, therefore, that marriages are by preference contracted between kinsmen, but it says nothing further concerning the kinship connections which are regarded as important in this

476 602 /38 cont./ Their sense of belonging together is strengthened by this. A household that is apart from the others can request 476 help from a neighbor unrelated to it, in case of an emergency, 558 but the asker suffers a loss of prestige in doing so. Whoever 609 asks for help from a non-kinsman shows himself to be inferior. 592 A household which exists apart thus very easily becomes lower 361 in its standing; it has a difficult and less pleasant existence than a household which forms part of a large related group living close together.

592 Differences are thus observable between a household which ●612 lives isolated or almost isolated and a household that lives in 621 the midst of its kinsmen. Put in another way, there are differences between a small and a large group of relatives, where the household or a single family, as the case may be, appears as the smallest imaginable group of relatives in a certain territory. It seems unnecessary to look for a boundary line between a large and a small related group. We shall here proceed from the assumption that the Rest group consists of smaller groups of relatives (in this case a maximum of 9 houses), and that the Kapala group (81 houses) constitutes a large group of relatives. Three points of difference are then the following:

162 In the 81 houses of the Kapala group live an average of 592 6.5 persons per house; in the 30 houses of the Rest group an average of 5.5 persons per house. This difference becomes understandable if /39/ one notes that in comparison with 7 houses having 2 or 3 occupants in the Kapala group (thus around 9 per cent), there are also 7 such houses among the 30 592 houses of the Rest group (thus 25 per cent). This is because in the 7 houses couples married by silariang (1) live, in many

1. See Chapter III, third part.

592 /39 cont./ cases without children, or only a few as yet. Furthermore, such houses are occupied by a widow whose husband died before the reconciliation necessary after a marriage by flight and by a number of other such cases.
592 There exists a clear preference for kinsmen living together
602 in one house, and an aversion to non-kinsmen living together.
609 In the latter case there soon develops a relationship of followers (2), and that is disliked by those who realize that they will

2. See pp. 52 ff.

be in a lower place. Lonely parents who in a large related group would have been taken into the house of a nephew or niece now continue to live by themselves. They, together with the couples who fled and married, reduce the mean population per house.

The number of endogamous marriages appears to be higher
582 in the Kapala group than in the Rest group. In the Kapala
602 group, 79 endogamous marriages were registered (around 89 per cent) as against 10 marriages with strangers (around 11 per cent). In the Rest group these figures were: 15 endogamous marriages (around 45 per cent) as against 13 marriages with strangers (around 46 per cent).

612 It was noted that the Kapala group was better provided
556 with rice blocks, weaving looms, and plows. The first and last-mentioned objects are directly connected with the sawah area. The average sawah property of the Kapala group members is greater than that of the Rest group members (3).

3. See p. 52.

These figures, however, for the moment prove no more than that the members of the Kapala group have more goods than those of the Rest group.

Compared with the Rest group, therefore, we see the Kapala group as the more cohesive and wealthier one, in which

612 556 /39 cont./ living is more comfortable. The tendency toward joining the Kapala group can be demonstrated. Integration is stronger there.

612 To be affiliated with a large related group seems to offer only advantages. There is, however, another phenomenon which suggests the opposite. /40/ Members of the Kapala [166] group appear to move away repeatedly. This fact cannot be discussed, however, until the relationship of the related group to the land has first been described.

The Relationship to the Land

612 423 The relationship of the related group to the land was characterized as that of a group whose members live together in the same territory and work the land. This characterization will now be elaborated upon. The majority of kampong residents do seem to have land in the kampong where they reside, but a number of them in addition have land in other kampongs.

Some figures will be presented at this point to illustrate the relationship of people to land. The average landownership of Bontoramba residents within their territory amounts to 23 ares of sawah land and 56 ares of dry land per house. In addition to land in Bontoramba, some Bontoramba residents also own land in other kampongs. If one adds these figures to the first, then it appears that the average landownership per house in Bontoramba amounts to 54 ares of sawah land and 69 ares [162] of dry land. The average number of persons per house is 6.04 (1).

1. Figures concerning land date from 1949. The average number of residents per house that year amounted to 6.04 as against 6.1 in 1948.

423 /40 cont./ Some variations should be introduced into
612 these figures. Broken down by the Kapala, Mangenre, and
556 Rest groups they are:

Kapala group:	77 ares sawah land
	88 ares dry land
Mangenre group:	6 ares sawah land
	66 ares dry land
Rest group:	23 ares sawah land
	22 ares dry land

These figures thus indicate the average per house for these three groups, which consist of 81, 19, and 33 houses respectively (2).

[171]

2. In the Indish Verslag /(Dutch East) Indies Report/ of 1941, Part 2, p. 264, the average area of arable land of the native population for Java and Madura (in 1940) is given as: 0.072 hectare of sawah land and 0.096 hectare of dry land per capita. This is a little less than was found in Bontoramba (0.088 hectare of sawah land and 0.113 hectare of dry land per capita).

/41/ The noticeably low figure for the sawah land in the Mangenre group is not directly explainable. We shall return to this point below.

[592] Not all houses have landowners. In the Kapala group, landowners live in 73 of the 81 houses; in the Mangenre group, in 7 of the 19 houses; and in the Rest group they live in 14 of the 33 houses.

The members of the Kapala group are thus clearly rich in land compared with those of the two other groups. Among

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/41 cont./ them landownership is also more regularly distributed over the various houses.

It appeared that the few houses of the Kapala group without landowners were homes of younger people who worked the lands of their parents or an older brother and who received a part of the harvested crop in exchange for this. The Mangenre group and the Rest group include warong owners /shop-keepers/, the bicycle repairman, merchants, and "porters." The last named are men who transport goods for another person to a distant pasar and who receive their wages partly in money and partly in goods. Several of them do not own any land.

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Those who own land outside Bontoramba live scattered over 57 of the total of 133 houses (1); 53 of these 57 are occupied by members of the Kapala group, 4 by those of the Rest. According to these figures people of the Mangenre group do not seem to have land anywhere outside Bontoramba. It may well be that these figures are incorrect, probably too low, especially as regards the Mangenre group. The land-tax administration registered the names of landowners in each kampong, and it would thus be necessary to go through all the land-tax registers of South Celebes (there are a few thousand of them) in order to state with certainty that no other land than that reported are held by Bontoramba residents. And it is just among the individuals of the Mangenre group that one might expect to find that they have more land in their homeland of Pangkadjene (2).

1. In 54 houses there are people who own only sawah land elsewhere, in 14 those who own only dry land elsewhere. In 11 houses, therefore, there are people who own both sawahs as well as dry land.

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/41 cont./ 2. This suggestion is based both upon the figures following below for kampong Pakatto, the homeland of the Kapala group, as well as upon the impression obtained in the colonists' kampongs.

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/42/ I limited my investigation to the registers of the remaining kampongs of the adat community of Borongloë. In only 7 of these 13 were names of Bontoramba residents encountered by me. The distribution was as follows:

	Sawah Land	Dry Land	Number of Sawah-land Owners	Number of Dry-land Owners
Pagentungang.	1,432 ares	--	48	--
Songkolo . . .	280 ares	354 ares	4	5
Buttadidi . . .	684 ares	37 ares	23	3
Borong	308 ares	904 ares	6	8
Tjambaja. . .	1,428 ares	798 ares	21	5
Pakatto. . . .	514 ares		4	
Parang Banua.	54 ares		2	(1)

1. In Indonesian landholding statistics land held in mortgage or as security was always included.

A glance at the map shows that the first three kampongs border on Bontoramba, and that the fourth is situated very close to it. Kampong Pakatto was already mentioned as the one from which many of the present-day Bontoramba residents are derived;

423 /42 cont./ some of them still appear to have land there, ob-
471 tained through inheritance. The great number of landholdings in Tjambaja is connected with good reclamation opportunities there.

The people from Bontoramba own no land in 6 of the 14 kampongs of Borongloë. Their ownership is concentrated in their immediate vicinity, with the exception of Pakatto and Tjambaja. Territorial-administrative kampong boundaries, [62] therefore, do not seem to affect the relationship of kin groups to land. The distance from the house to the land does seem to be of importance. There is reason to assume that the number of Bontoramba residents owning land outside their adat community as well as inside it (with the exception of people from the Mangenre group) is inconsiderable.

In addition to the Bontoramba residents who have land outside Bontoramba, there are a number of persons residing outside Bontoramba who own /43/ land within the territory of Bontoramba. There were 90 such people. Of these, 68 lived in one of the 13 other kampongs of Borongloë. They owned, together, 1, 522 ares of sawah land and 1, 758 ares of dry land. In the adjoining kampongs of Buttadidi, Pagentungang, Songkolo, and Borong, there lived respectively 27, 8, 11, and 7 of these landowners. In addition, there are 3 more landowners who live in the kampongs of Pakatto, Parang Banua, Bontoa, and Borongkaluku, while in Kotjikang there are 2, and in Tjambaja 1. There does not appear to exist any special interest in Bontoramba territory on the part of Pakatto or Tjambaja residents; this was different the other way around.

The remaining 22 landowners, of whom 2 lived outside Goa and 20 within Goa but outside Borongloë, owned 645 ares of sawah land and 498 ares of dry land (1). Here it is only

1. Among these 22, there were 13 sawah owners and 10 dry-land owners. One man owned dry land in Bontoramba as well as a sawah.

423 /43 cont./ noteworthy that of these 20 landowners, 12 lived in
471 kampong Romangpolong situated very close to Bontoramba, where the Kapala of Bontoramba has a large number of kinsmen.

471 The following figures indicate how the sawah land is
556 distributed over the various houses.

612 The inhabitants of 25 out of the total of 133 houses own more than 1 hectare of sawah land. Twenty-one of these are houses belonging to the Kapala group, and 4 belong to the Rest. The inhabitants of 8 of these 25 houses own more than 2 hectares, and of these, 7 belong to the Kapala group, 1 to the Rest. Only one man has more than 3 hectares; in fact, he owns 7.5 hectares of sawah land. He owes this to his own abilities.

The relationship of individuals to their land, as is apparent from these figures, may therefore be stated quite simply. The administrative kampong boundaries (2) do not appear to be

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2. The kapala collects the taxes on all land located in his kampong territory. He takes care that all men who live there and are able to perform work carry out their services. He reports offences committed in his district, etc.

relevant to the location of land which belongs to kampong residents. Landownership is not restricted by kampong territory.

311 The distance from the living quarters to the fields is,
423 generally speaking, small. The land of the majority of people is located in their own kampong and in one of the kampongs adjoining it. Those who owned land in Tjambaja also had land in Bontoramba itself. This shows that people do not purchase or work /44/ land at a greater distance away until they already own some in their immediate vicinity. The exchange of land
437 between people having land in each other's kampong of residence,
425 with the intention that both will have a piece of land close by, instead of one far removed from their house, occurs regularly.

428 /44 cont./ Generally one acquires distant land through
471 inheritance. People like to keep (1) land located in the kampong
602

1. Compare the data for the colonist groups, pp. 76 ff.

from which they come themselves, or from which their parents come and where kinsmen live. The figures from Pakatto merely indicated that the tie to land situated in the kampong of origin is only gradually loosened when a well-integrated group of relatives has arisen in a new environment.

471 The average landholding amounts to a good one-half hectare of sawah land and almost three-quarters of a hectare of dry land, for each six persons. For the greater part, there-
[241] fore, they are all small farming enterprises (2).

231 2. The figures for the most important livestock (buffaloes,
556 goats, horses) among the
● 612 three groups is as follows:

	Buffaloes	Goats	Horses
Kapala group	193	23	11
Mangenre group.	19	—	--
Rest group.	26	14	1

556 Among the kampong residents it seems that only one
471 individual is in a position to bring together a land area of more
558 than 3 hectares, thanks to special personal qualities. In the generation following his, however, this holding falls apart again, because it rarely happens that a man who brought together the property produces a son capable of keeping it intact.

471 This proportion of landholdings to individuals may be re-
556 garded as normal in the case of these ordinary kin groups. Otherwise, the area is not unacquainted with large landownership.

471 /46 cont./ had just come to live in Bontoramba but who, as
241 yet, possessed no land there. This man nonethless believed
782 that his office compelled him to give tangible proof of his participation in the life of the kampong at this communal festival.

The total number of 45 bowls was regarded as small; the fact that many people were sick was given as an excuse for this.

The conclusion to be drawn from these figures may be, therefore, that at this harvest festival only those people bring an offering who own or work sawahs in Bontoramba and who at the same time believe that they have a certain interest inthis harvest festival.

241 Compared with the other groups, the tendency to participate
●612 in this communal festival is more apparent among the members of the Kapala group.

The nonparticipation of 17 of the 18 houses of the Mangenre group may be laid not only to the fact that only a few of them own sawahs in Bontoramba, but also to the fact that in Buginese country saukang festivals occur much less frequently than in Goa. Traditionally, this kind of festival is more
[626] unfamiliar to them. The participation of one of them may be regarded as a sign of submission to the local holders of power and their customs. For if nobody among them had participated, this would not have been appreciated by the Kapala and his relatives. In this case one of them stands for all. It was one of the most prominent members of the Mangenre group who sent a bowl.

539 In answer to the question how this place obtained its name,
773 "Lord of the Land," the following story was told. /47/

1. Pau-pauanna "Patanna Pa'rasanganga," niarenga Besenga.	The story of "the Lord of the Land," called Besenga.
2. Riolo nia' sitau rewa ammantang ri Bontoramba.	Once upon a time there was a courageous man who lived in Bontoramba.

162 /51 cont./ 9 per cent of the total number of residents,
166 were born outside; 30 individuals (approximately 3.5 per
621 cent) were born outside Goa Province.

162 The percentage of those born in Bontoramba appears to
166 be greater in the Kapala group, the most settled one, than
612 in the other two groups, namely 82 per cent as against 54
621 per cent in the Mangenre and 52 per cent in the Rest group. The following table makes these percentages clear.

	Total Number of Individuals	Born Outside Bontoramba	Born Outside Bontoramba but Within Borongloë	Born Outside Borongloë but Within Goa	Born Outside Goa	
Kapala Group	536	81	51	28	2	
Mangenre "	94	42	17	5	20	
Rest "	173	84	51	25	8	
Residents of Kampong Bontoramba as of July 1, 1949	803	207	119	58	30	

/52/ The large number of people in the Mangenre group born outside Goa, namely 20 of the 42, is striking. In the Kapala and the Rest group these numbers are 2 and 8 respectively of the 51. An explanation for this is to be found
162 in the fact that their land of origin lies outside Goa; many
166 of them were born there. This trend continues longer than
612 one would expect because people prefer children to be born
621 in the house, or at least in the land, where the mother was
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/52 cont./ born herself. Women who are pregnant, prefer to return to their homeland Pangkadjene, at least for their first confinement.

Thirty-two of the 51 members of the Kapala group born outside Bontoramba, but within the adat community, come from kampongs bordering on Bontoramba, such as Buttadidi (10) and Songkolo (12), as well as from near-by Borong (9). In the kampongs situated farther away, the numbers are smaller: Parang Banua, 4; Borongkaluku, 3; Bontoa, 2; Bontomanai and Kotjikang, each 1; from the adjoining Pagentungang, 1. Pakatto (9) forms an understandable exception because, as was reported above, it is regarded as the homeland of the members of the Kapala group.

From these figures, therefore, it appears that approximately 80 per cent of the Bontoramba population was born in Bontoramba or its vicinity.

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2. Migrations

It further appeared that kampong residents repeatedly changed houses either for a longer or a shorter period of time. This phenomenon, though it can be observed, is not easily expressed in figures.

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I tried to gain an insight into the number of those who changed houses by carrying out a second kampong survey exactly a year after the first one. The -- in my opinion -- many prolonged visits and other changes that took place in the course of the year where the previous state of affairs had been restored again through subsequent changes could not be covered by this registration. The results obtained in this manner are as follows.

In 76 of the 133 houses a change in composition took place during the year (from July 1, 1948 through June 30, 1949). Births and deaths were not registered because they were not relevant to this study /53/ of mobility. Divided into the usual three groups, the data showed that 39 of the 81

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/53 cont./ Kapala-group houses had remained unchanged in their composition, as well as 4 of the 19 belonging to the Mangenre group, and 14 of the 33 belonging to the Rest group.

Those who had been registered as residents of Bontoramba as of July 1, 1949 and who did not live there a year ago were registered as immigrants, and those who lived there on July 1, 1948 but who were no longer present on July 1, 1949 were registered as emigrants. Persons who in the course of the year had gone to live in another house in the kampong were registered as transmigrants (1). Distributed over the three

1. Transmigrants are counted once as individuals, but they bring about a change in the composition of two house /holds/s.

groups (Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest), one obtains the following picture of the mobility of individuals.

	Immigrants	Emigrants	Trans-migrants	Total Number of Individuals Who Changed Houses
Kapala	26	18	34	78 of a total of 536 members of the Kapala group
Mangenre	6	23	12	41 of a total of 94 members of the Mangenre group
Rest	10	12	4	26 of a total of 173 members of the Rest group
Total	42	53	50	145 of a total of 803 kampong residents as of July 1, 1949

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/53 cont./ This means, therefore, that over a period of one year, two-elevenths of all kampong residents changed houses.

The subdivision into Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest group shows that the largest migration took place in the Mangenre group, where almost /sic/ two-fifths of the group members moved, while in the Kapala and Rest groups approximately one-seventh of the members changed domicile. As a reason for this we could cite the fact that the Mangenre group most closely approximates what is called below a group of colonists. The members of such a group seem to form little attachment to their place of residence. Many of the Mangenre group moved away to Macassar, where, according to reports, they were able to earn more money than in Bontoramba.

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According to these figures, migration is just about equal among men and women. /54/ For 72 migrating men there are 73 migrating women.

The difference in migration between married and unmarried people does not seem to be great. Here one should differentiate the cases where only a married man or woman changes houses from the migration of a complete family unit.

In one year, 22 families with 35 children moved in Bontoramba, a total of 79 persons. In 8 of these 22 cases, a young couple moved away from the parental house. A two-family house in this way became a one-family house. This reflects the striving of each family to have its own house (1).

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1. A young man or woman who moved to his (her) spouse's family after marriage, thus changing a one-family dwelling into a two-family dwelling, was registered as a transmigrant.

Three families who wanted to live closer to their sawahs

186 /61 cont./ but the majority are only interested in owning
563 land back in the homeland.

Language and common residence strengthen, at least for the time being, the integration of the colonists.

The Worship Community

612 The Makassarese related group was defined as a group of
769 relatives whose members worship their ancestors at places and times designated for this purpose.

Participation in ancestor worship is linked to kinship. For instance, one whose grandparents were not related to each other, and whose two pairs of grandparents were not related to each other either, belongs to four different groups of relatives and may participate in the ancestor worship of all four different groups. In practice, an individual participates primarily in the worship of the group with which he lives. But he may also share in that of his kinsmen, even if he does
[557] not have daily contact with them. His choice in this is determined to a great degree by the social standing of these kinsmen. There is a demonstrable preference among people to turn to the prominent members of the related group in ritual matters.

769 Here we will first describe the most significant aspects of the ritual. Subsequently, we will make comparisons with the ornament ritual.

Essentials of the Ritual

In spite of local differences and despite personal viewpoints of the person carrying out the ritual, the pinati (1), there is

1. See pp. 82, 83.

a high degree of uniformity in the ritual prescriptions. A number of elements are to be found everywhere, such as rice, oil, incense, and water. Some actions /62/ are carried

769/62 cont./ out in the same sequence in every instance. They will be briefly reported here.

[793] By donning a white headdress, the pinati makes himself distinguishable as the one who is going to bring about contact [777] between the living and their ancestors. The throwing of rice, usually in puffed form (bente), over the offerings is done because it is believed that rice brings good luck. The pinati sprinkles a circle of drops of oil around the offerings with the little oil bottle. After he has placed incense in a burning incense vessel, with the latter, he describes the same circle, first three times counterclockwise and then once clockwise. This done, he places the offering, the "parappo" (1), prepared

1. See p. 84.

by himself, inside the circle next to the offering bowls. Both the puffed rice as well as the parappo is momentarily held over the incense vessel each time for purposes of purification, so that whatever enters it will always be pure. An imaginary circle thus separates that which is brought into contact with the ancestors from the rest of the world. The pinati then places a few fingers of his right hand as it were against the circle and mumbles for a few moments. In so doing, the ritual is concluded.

What he mumbles is kept secret by the pinati. At the same time he always communicates the factual events to the ancestors. Thus, at the time of planting: "We have come here to report to you that we are going to plant; if we obtain a good harvest we will offer the best of it to you." Or at the harvest festival: "Here I bring you the best of my harvest."

The Pinati

612 The Pinati of Bontoramba was a kinsman of the Kapala.
793 His standing was high in his related group because of his personal qualities. He functioned as a regulator of marriages and

612 /62 cont./ always had a leading role at the conferences
793 concerning the expenses of the wedding feast, and so forth, which always precede the marriages. He knew the wedding song and was a valued expert on, and healer of, diseases. The title of such a functionary is sanro. With one single exception, he was called in for help in all these matters only by the members of the Kapala group. He further managed the harvest festival, which involved the entire territory /63/ of Bontoramba and in which, for that reason, members of other groups also took part. In ordinary life he did not distinguish himself either in clothing or outward appearance from other residents of Bontoramba.

796 He himself prepares the essence of what is offered, the
462 parappo. The further preparation of the ritual, which is very detailed and consumes a great deal of time, is carried out by the women. Each and every one of the women is better informed about ritual matters than the men. The preparation of the offerings, the hallowing of the water to be used at the ritual, the hallowing of the bowls and dishes from which they will eat, the finding of leaves of a special, prescribed nature necessary at the ritual, the making of the candles (kandjoli), all these are elements of the ritual taken care of by the women. They are also not activities familiar to every one of them. The names of the leaves and the arrangement of the offerings have their own significance. In these things one may not make a mistake. An informant once characterized the situation by saying, "Islam is the religion of the men, ancestor worship that of the women." Whenever there is no pinati present, therefore, one will see one of the older women taking his place. At small festivities concerning a /nuclear/ family, the women frequently conducted the ritual themselves. The pinati functions where the entire community is involved in the festival.

/63 cont./ The Parappo

The parappo belongs to the essential part of what is offered to the ancestors. The word means: "to offer or give something to a superior." The parappo is an insignificant-looking little bundle of pisang leaves of about the size of one or two fists full. Its contents seems to consist of betel leaves folded in various ways. Each way of folding has its proper name (for instance: poto, tontong lebong, putu rabing, kalomping). A little piece of areca nut and a very small amount of lime (paleo) goes with every betel leaf. The number of these leaves varies according to status. In the Prince of Goa's kin group the number 9 forms the basis of the parappo (1),

1. By the number that forms the basis of the parappo is meant that a parappo consists in one case of 4 poto, 4 kalomping, etc., and in another case of 6 poto, 6 kalomping, etc.

while in the kin group of the head of the adat community it is 7. /64/ In that of kampong people, the numbers 7, 6, 5, and 4 occur.

A number of further differences should be pointed out which vary with the related group. At the ritual on the sawah, the number of leaves in some groups is a little smaller than at a wedding or other kin group feast. Four and 6 respectively were the numbers in the Kapala group in Bontoramba. In a few groups of relatives a further distinction was observed between boys and girls. If the number of leaves for a boy is 6, then it is 7 for a girl (1). A distinction

1. These numbers were observed at a number of birthday festivals.

612 /64 cont./ is likewise made between the offering presented
778 to the ancestors in the attic and that which -- on the occasion
184 of the same festival -- is delivered into the water. At a
796 festival in the Kapala group the numbers were 6 and 7 respectively.

The Rojong Song

533 The rojong song constitutes another significant element
796 of the ritual. Old women hum the sounds unintelligibly and monotonously; the exact words frequently are not known to them. This song occurs at wedding feasts and other important solemnities in the related group, and it is coupled with the beating of drums (ganrang). The rojong song recorded in Borongloë before the war has disappeared. The woman who gave it to me was overcome by all kinds of misfortune. She was not prepared to repeat it to me.

Food Taboos

612 In a single related group there is awareness, however
262 feeble, that the members of the group may not eat a certain animal (2). In Goa it is still generally known, perhaps,

2. Dr. Chr. Nooteboom drew my attention to this phenomenon for the first time in 1939.

that the members of the karaëng group (the nobility) may not eat the meat of the white buffalo.

In the related group of the head of the Borongloë adat community the realization faintly continues that a certain type of eel may not be eaten. To explain this the following
773 story is told: A woman who had violated a prohibition was
612 punished for this with the task of carrying water in a basket
262 from the river to a certain place. The basket, however, did

773/64 cont. / not hold /65/ water. An eel appeared which curled
612 up inside it and in this way closed off the seams of the basket
262 with the slime of its skin, and in that way the woman was able to carry out her task. Out of gratitude she there upon vowed that she and her descendants would not eat the eel and its descendants.

[784] However, neither in the Kapala group nor in any of the other groups in Bontoramba were people able to produce such a story. Nor were they able to name a certain animal that a number of relatives were prohibited from eating.

Pantasa'

778 In the attics of Makassarese houses one frequently finds
769 a pantasa' (literally, "bedstead"). This is a little house on posts, from 70 to 100 centimeters tall, hung with mosquito netting. It has a small entrance going up to the front of the house (sapana) such as only the nobility possesses. In this little house one can see a small pillow and a little mat.

The care of these pantasa' primarily involves having a candle burn by its side every Thursday evening at sundown (malang Djuma') and always having ready a glass filled with water, a little bowl with betel and areca nuts, and a cup of water for washing one's hands, such as is customary at every meal. It is believed that the ancestors (pattautoaang) descend here. Therefore, care is taken at all times to leave whatever is customarily presented to an honored guest.

In or near these pantasa' is to be found a small closed basket (baku paballe, literally, "medicine basket"). A number of objects belonging to the ritual are kept in it. Next to the pantasa' one finds, in some cases, a large open basket (salosso), where the larger ritual objects are kept.

[648] It is told that formerly almost all the houses had their pantasa', but that in 1905 the Dutch troops destroyed a great number of them because they were used in blood sacrifices, which always had renewed opposition as a result. It is further

1:Chabot--88 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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/66 cont./ is gladly received, as well as the ones with whom people prefer to enter into marriage connections.

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Thus a few individuals are to be found in each group of relatives on whom the interest of the other relatives is concentrated. These leading personalities strive, on the one hand, to establish marital ties among each other, on the other, they try to gain the upper hand over each other. The bilateral related group, therefore, has difficulty in showing unity. The ancestor ritual in the forms described above merely keeps the conflicts between the various parties within the related group going. /67/

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The Ornament-Worship Community

Kooreman (1) observed that groups of Makassarese living

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1. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 143ff.

together in a certain territory worshipped a certain object which he called "the ornament." In the literature that came after him, these are sometimes called "ornament communities." They are regarded as territorial units. Nooteboom later summarized Kooreman's definitions. He spoke of "objects, externally of a very arbitrary character, worshipped by a certain community of individuals and regarded as sacred" (2).

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2. Chr. Nooteboom, "Naar aanleiding van de Rijkssieraden in Zuid-Celebes /With Reference to Regalia in South Celebes/," K.T., 1937, p. 168.

648 /68 cont./ The provinces of South Celebes have made
794 up a federation since 1948. The administration of this
554 federation has been placed in the hands of an administrative council (Hadat Tinggi), and the princes of Bone and Goa respectively have become president and vice-president of this body. As a result, it is to be expected that the worship of the ornaments of these two realms will increase accordingly throughout the daërah.

778 /69/ In the Borongloë adat community two other
● 617 ornaments are known in addition to the headman's ornament.
634 For an adat community head, an ornament inside his region constitutes a potential threat. Only a related group which has an ornament has in effect the ability to act outwardly as a unit. And an ornament generally speaking is in the possession of a related group which in former times had a stronger position of power than it does at present. Stories concerning the old time of glory continue to live on, and each new generation awaits its chance to regain the old position of power.

[621] The two ornaments referred to are found in the kampongs of Borongrappo and Bontoa.

The relatives of a former adat community head of Borongloë, deposed in 1916, have their residence in Borongrappo. They kept their ornament. The successor, the father of the present-day head, was related to the Borongrappo group. At the same time he belonged to a group which possessed its own ornament. The latter became the ornament of the whole of Borongloë when the successor was raised to the headship. In 1939, on this occasion, a so-called purification ritual took place, and at that point the ornament of Borongrappo was brought to that of Borongloë. In the ritual, the virtual subordination of the former to the latter was made known by this procedure.

During the turbulent period from 1946 to 1947, the group of relatives at Bontoa ranged itself behind the adat community
[726] head. As a sign of favorable inclination as well as of

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/69 cont./ subordination, the weapons of the men of Borongloë were ritually painted with blood near that ornament, in preparation for the battle.

The history of this related group and its ornament has not become clear (1).

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1. Oral traditions are always fragmentary. Each group of relatives counts only a few men or women who know anything about the history of their kin group; Their knowledge is limited, however, to a few events, and these at the same time are only those which prove the greatness of the group. A regular narrative can never be obtained. Only in a concrete difficult situation does one of the most important members of the group tell how formerly in a similar situation the solution was found, and how, in his opinion, the conditions at present should be viewed and the difficulties solved. The narrator in so doing chooses his words so casually and easily that it is clear that he does not regard himself as tied to a certain text or even to details. On the contrary, one receives the impression

538 /69 cont./ that he improvises and illuminates the present-day state of affairs by the aid of a few data, just as seems to him best for his group at that moment. At the same time, he seems to be completely convinced of the 'objective' correctness of his representation of the historic facts.

612 794 /70/ The members of these two worship communities are the members of the local group of relatives, a few kinsmen residing outside the kampong boundaries, an occasional follower, and a very occasional slave, as well as possibly also a stranger who for some reason or other joins in the worship.

778 794 554 Ornaments are therefore found in the kingdom, the adat community, and in the kampong. Nowhere is the worship community of an ornament sharply delimited. The larger the actual power of a group of relatives, the larger does the worship community of this group's ornament seem to be.

612 778 The relationship between the ornaments is a reflection of the actual power relation of the groups of relatives. Two occasions at which this could be observed will be reported.

796 778 612 1. At the ritual "purification of the land" (akawarru butta), which took place for the last time in Borongloë a number of years before the Second World War, the head with his kinsmen and followers carried the ornament of Borongloë through the various kampongs of the adat community. In each kampong they spent the night, a buffalo was killed, a celebration was held, and offerings were made at the ornament. In the kampongs where the people possessed an ornament, the

612 /70 cont./ subordination of the latter with respect to that of
798 Borongloë was expressed in the ritual. These festivities
796 strengthened the sense of solidarity within the adat community, and by the wealth displayed on these occasions, they raised the standing of Borongloë both in its own, as well as in others', eyes.

2. A few days before the inauguration of the new prince of Goa in 1947, the ornaments of Goa and of Borongloë encountered each other at a certain place located in Borongloë
[103] by the name of Tamarunang. The following myth is connected
539 with this place.

1. Pau-pauanna Tamarunang.
2. Riolo, riwattu erona appare' kota Karaëngnga ri Goa,
3. nanrai' assuro angngalle batu ri binangaja ri Songkolo.
4. Naandjo tau angngallea batu narasai naalle batu aganna Barugaja ri Songkolo.

The story of Tamarunang.
A long time ago, when the Prince of Goa wanted to build a fort,
he commanded his people to enter the interior in order to get rocks in the river near Songkolo. /71/
And the people who got the rocks at that time, accidentally brought back a rock such as lies near the Baruga of Songkolo (1).

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1. A baruga (see Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 195) is a festival shed. At the spot designated as "the baruga of Songkolo," no festival shed is in existence, however. The rock which lies there today is the investiture rock of Borongloë.

/72 cont./

539 djaia niareng Tamarunang.

that it should be called "the one not falling off the raft" (Tamarunang).

612 778 796 The explanation of the name is clear. In addition, the relationship of Tamarunang to Songkolo and to Goa is indicated.

In conversations that I had in 1948 concerning the significance of this encounter of the ornaments, the Prince emphasized the fact that it expresses the subordination of Borongloë to Goa. For the rest, the case was presented as being insignificant. As for Borongloë, the head declared that by means of this ritual Borongloë had lent support to Goa, without which this country would have been regarded as severely weakened.

If one is to conceive of the rock in the myth as a symbol of Borongloë, then the independence of Borongloë in relation to Goa is here clearly represented (1).

1. The narrator was the Kapala of Bontoramba.

612 778 A group of relatives without an ornament seems to exercise only little actual power. The relationship of opposition between prominent members of this group appears to be the most important reason for this.

Where an ornament is present, the oppositions existing between prominent members of the related group are not removed. In a number of cases they merely recede into the background behind an appearance of unity. Where the local relationships give rise to it, such oppositions come to the fore, possibly with even greater bitterness. The fraternal struggle of Sidenreng is a classic example of this (2).

2. See pp. 159-161.

Where there is an ornament, two groups of relatives may sometimes merge into one. An example will serve to illustrate this point.

634 /73/ The former adat community head, still a young man
612 in 1916, belonged to two groups of relatives which lived
621 together, one in Borongrappo, the other in Parang Banua.
When he became head in that year, the members of both
groups gladly regarded themselves as his kinsmen. For both
he was a very prominent kinsman to whom they preferred to
turn with requests for help and at whose festivals they liked to
[361] make their appearance. The kampong Parang Banua, where
the new head lived in the beginning, is separated from the rest
of the adat community by the Djene'berang River. It was
somewhat inaccessible. At the urging of the administration,
the head moved with a number of followers and kinsmen from
Parang Banua to kampong Borongkaluku, bordering on
Borongrappo. Others followed him later.

Now, about 30 years later, the adat community head with
a certain pride referred to all the residents of the three
kampongs, Borongkaluku, Borongrappo, and Parang Banua,
as his kinsmen. He permitted his children to marry kinsmen
from at least two of these groups.

571 A number of marriages have been contracted in the course
612 of the years between the Borongrappo and Borongkaluku groups
of relatives. There is regular contact between the two. A
number of houses belonging to people of Borongkaluku have
already been built close to those of Borongrappo. An integrated
related group, however, has not developed. The fact that the
[278] Borongrappo group kept its own ornament is probably one of the
most important reasons for this circumstance.

The group at Borongkaluku, which initially formed a unit
with that of Parang Banua, tends to form a separate group around
the adat community head. The tendency toward separation
is increased by the difficulty of communication across the
Djene'berang River. There are also signs that the maintenance
of existing ties is valued. The regular contracting of
marriages between the two is an example of this. The tie
[764] with the dead is another. A number of people who died were

571 /73 cont./ buried in Borongkaluku. But the adat community
612 head who is of advanced age has already stated that he wants
764 to be buried in Parang Banua, close to the place where his parents and uncles likewise lie buried.

An Ornament In Statu Nascendi

592 There is a small, crudely carved wooden image approxi-
778 mately 25 centimeters high wrapped in a dirty white cloth
612 in the pantasa' of the house belonging to the Kapala of /74/
669 Bontoromba. The father of the present-day Kapala had carved this himself and given it ot his son, who told me about it. It was shown to me with a certain reverence, but nevertheless also with a certain shyness. There was no sign of its being worshipped by the kinsmen of the Kapala. No tomanurung myth was connected with it. What is the significance of this little image which is kept in such an important place?

It has already been pointed out that the Kapala group is a young but already well-integrated group of relatives. The tie with Pakatto is present, but it is weak.

114 Kooreman has pointed out that the assumption of conquest as one of the most important causes for the formation of kingdoms is irreconcileable with their federal administration (1). He believed instead that this cause lies in a voluntary

1. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 194.

act of joining the federation and submission to the authority of a tomanurung. "One should not imagine that the time of the Tomanoeroengs is past," he wrote in 1883 (2).

2. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 193.

532 /74 cont./ After the subjection of the princes of South
778 Celebes in 1905, this period of the tomanurung had passed,
612 however. Tomanurung were thought to deceive and to disturb
669 the peace. They were no longer given an opportunity to create a federation. In spite of this, however, the belief in the tomanurung did not disappear.

It may be that the Kapala of Bontoramba counts on the possibility of a tomanurung appearing who will unite his presently well-integrated group with a number of neighboring groups into a federation. The group from which the ornament of the federation is derived will, as a matter of course, have the leadership. The Kapala is prepared for this. The image is, as it were, an ornament in statu nascendi /in the nascent state/.

The Sacred Spot of Borongloë

778 A five-minute walk from the head's house leads to a
773 grove, the so-called "Flat Rock, " (batu lappara') of Borongloë (3). On it /75/ stood, according to the myth, the

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3. Many call the rock batu napara', which according to Matthes' dictionary (p. 635) means "a smooth rock with the bottom part in the water; a rock that is stretched out flat."

ancestral couple of the present-day head's group of relatives, at the moment when they made their final statements to the people prior to ascending to heaven (1).

1. Friedericy relates this myth in his own words in his dissertation. See there, pp. 506 ff.

557 /83 cont./ A certain equality of marriage partners is
581 assumed. One who has gone up in standing through personal qualities and who on the basis of this is able to marry off one of his children to a member of a group that is actually regarded as a little higher has attained the highest goal. It becomes apparent to everyone that through this marriage he has risen in standing. The standing that he has thus built up is, as it were, fixed by this circumstance. In a later social evaluation of his children, his achievement is used as a basis of judgment. His kinsmen honor in him the man who has raised the standing of their group, for as kinsmen they are, and remain in principle, his equals and thus rise with him. Compared with other
[585] festivals of the Makassarese, wedding feasts are the most valuable in view of the economic capacity of the group. More than any others, they are the gauge of social standing.

584 The choice of a marriage partner is an affair which cannot
557 be left to the young people themselves. It is a matter for the elders and, preferably, the prominent elders of the group of relatives. They look for what they consider the best solution; they weigh and balance the possibilities, and through their collaboration the marriages finally come about. In all this, a certain marriage policy is apparent.

557 In the marriage policy of the elders, two opposing
581 tendencies are to be found. On the one hand, there exists
612 the striving for a closely cohesive related group whose members marry each other as much as is possible. On the other hand, there is the striving to establish relations with members of other groups of relatives, preferably those who rank just a little higher. A successful policy is achieved by the person who is able to realize his aim in both directions and who, at the same time, /84/ is able to bring about harmony between the two. Those who constitute the average in the group of relatives as regards their social standing, soon satisfy themselves with the first-mentioned aim. The prominent members of the group tend, rather, to direct their interests outside their own group.

557 /84 cont./ The marriage policy of the elders is, therefore,
581 to be regarded as a part of their striving toward raising the
612 standing of the group. As an example we shall here give the
policy conducted by the adat community head of Borongloë in bringing about the seven marriages of his children solemnized between 1938 and 1948. The marriage policy is never formulated in this form. Those who conduct it are not conscious of it. They merely do what seems best to them in given circumstances.

The adat community head himself was married to a daughter of the head of a neighboring adat community, situated outside the kingdom of Goa. His eldest son was the first to be married, to a girl from this group of relatives, a sixth-degree cousin. The already existing tie with his wife's kin group was thereby strengthened.

His second son was married to the daughter of a well-known tradesman, a hadji, from Macassar, a business contact and at the same time an old friend with whom he had made an agreement at an early age to have their children marry later. When this marriage appeared to be rather unsuccessful after a number of years, it was dissolved. A new marriage was subsequently contracted with the daughter of the head of a neighboring adat community. In this case a member of the Self-government of Goa gave his cooperation.

The third son, who was employed as a provincial official in Buginese country, married there after his own choice. Such an alternative will be described later.

The fourth, as a favor to his father, had been taken, as a young man into his house by a member of the Self-government of the kingdom of Goa, who had subsequently arranged a marriage with the daughter of one of his other favorites, a wealthy Buginese merchant. The father had, in effect, given this son to the member of the Goa Self-government. He had no further influence on the latter's choice of a marriage partner.

557 /84 cont./ The fifth child, a girl, married her eighth-
581 /85/ degree cousin, a grandson of the old Imam of Borongloë.
612 In so doing, the kin-group tie with the first religious official of the adat community was established on a firmer basis.

The members of the adat community head's widespread group of relatives reside in almost three kampong territories. The sixth child, again a son, married the daughter of the head of one of these kampongs. In this case the adat community head and the kampong head were first cousins.

Finally, the seventh child, a girl, married one of her sixth-degree cousins residing in one of these other kampongs.

584 On the basis of this example, a number of comments can
612 be made.

1. The adat community head, the father, was in this case the central figure who brought about the various marriages of his children. But this is not necessarily always so. If one witnesses several weddings successively in various houses of the same kampong and in one and the same related group, one will be struck by the fact that in each case the same elders are instrumental in arranging all details of the ceremonies. The parent concerned is consulted, but the actual leadership is in the hands of others. The same seems to be the case, if one investigates who brought the marriage partners together. The matter, to be sure, is discussed with the children's own parents, but it is of such importance to the related group that it cannot simply be left to them. If they make suggestions, these are taken into account. If they come to talk, they are given advice. But if they do nothing, other prominent members of the group take the initiative.

584 2. Just as the marriage of the fourth son was organized,
565 regulated, and paid for by a member of the high nobility, the adat community head in his turn likewise brought about a large number of marriages of his subordinates in the course of the years, sometimes after they had made their preference apparent to him, sometimes on his own initiative (1).

554/241 cont./ to be impaired. Then it is said of him that he
571 feels siri', and he is expected to react by outdoing the successful rival in his turn. A slight victory is avenged moderately, and a severe one is severely avenged.

554 It has been noted that the related group is a vaguely de-
612 limited group and that the standing of relatives among each
684 other is uncertain. No fixed vertical articulation is to be
689 found -- with one single exception: the karaëng and the
[562] people. The only fixed point turned out to be the woman's position, attached to the sunrang. An attack upon a close female relative touches a Makassarese in one of the very few institutions that provide him with a feeling of stability. A
[762] normal response seems impossible in such a case. Suicide does not occur. It is believed that there is no other solution for this conflict than that a man kills the person who attacked him in this, for him, socially important point. In such a case one likewise speaks of adjallo'. This killing is tied further to a multiplicity of forms. There are also many opportunities for avoiding it. The marriage by flight complex is an example of this.

562 Man and woman are regarded as complements of each other with respect to the qualities they are supposed to possess. Only together do they form a whole.

834 It is believed that if an (unmarried) man and woman are together without a third, forbidden contact must exist between them. The evil initiative is thought to emanate from the man, and a woman who has entered into a contact situation is merely reprimanded for not having been careful enough. /242/

156 In reality, however, men as well as women often appear to possess other qualities than those that are ascribed to them on the basis of their sex.